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A SEMANTIC STUDY OF THE VERBS OF DOING AND
MAKING IN THE INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS
AND LITERATURE IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(DEPARTMENT OF SANSKRIT AND INDO-EUROPEAN COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY)

BY

GEN-ICHIRO YOSHIOKA



TOKYO, JAPAN

Printed at The Tokyo Tenshi Type Foundry

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I wish to acknowledge my deep indebtedness to Professor Carl Darling Buck, Head of the Department of Sanskrit and Indo-European Comparative Philology in the University of Chicago, under whose supervision this dissertation was written, and to Professor Francis Asbury Wood of the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures in the same University whose criticism and advice have greatly improved this paper. I wish to express my thanks also to those representatives of numerous nationalities resident in Chicago who have constantly furnished me with information, generously and willingly responding to my inquiries.

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INTRODUCTION.

That such a vague, general notion as that of 'do' or 'make' is secondary and rests upon some more specific force, is an assumption demanded by all psychological probability and fully confirmed by linguistic evidence. The purpose of this dissertation is to show what are the various specific forces from which come the verbs of doing and making in the Indo-European languages. Attention is given primarily to the commonest words of this kind in the several languages,—those which are the usual equivalents of English *do* or *make*; and it is hoped that none of these has been overlooked. But words in which such a general meaning is only occasional, the more specific sense being commonly preserved, as well as words which, though not verbs of doing and making in the strictest sense, come very near to this meaning, are equally instructive as showing the possibilities of development in this direction; and many of these have been considered. In this regard, however, it is obviously impossible to aim at completeness, which could be attained only in a study devoted to a single language.

Verbs of doing and making are treated together for the simple reason that it is impossible to keep them apart. It is true that the distinction which exists in English, where *do* refers to an action *per se*, while *make* contains the notion of result, is common to many languages; but the line of demarcation is a vague one, and never quite the same even in languages which have precisely the same pair of words as German and English. Compare *Was macht er?* = *What is he doing?*

In gathering the material, I have used in the first instance the grammars and lexicons which are accessible to me. But

lexicons are so generous in giving 'do' and 'make' as translations of a word, or give so many words as the equivalents of 'do' or 'make' that it is often difficult to determine from them what the commonest words are. I have attempted to control this by the reading of some texts, and, for the less familiar languages and dialects, I have found the translations of the Bible of the greatest convenience for this purpose. In many cases, also, I have profited by the opportunity I have had to consult with representatives of the numerous nationalities resident in Chicago.

Any one who undertakes an investigation covering so wide a field as this makes himself liable to errors which might easily be avoided in a study of more restricted scope. Some sins both of omission and of commission, which will be detected by specialists in the various languages from which material is cited, are almost inevitable. But it is hoped they will not prove sufficiently serious to outweigh the manifest advantages of a general treatment of such a subject.

In arranging the material, I have not found it possible to follow any rigid system of classification into well-defined and mutually exclusive groups. Even if such a system were devised to suit the original meanings, it would frequently be crossed by another based on the intermediate stages of development. For even from the same original meaning the lines of development leading to 'do' or 'make' are often diverse. The most that has been attempted is a certain rough grouping for convenience, some of the divisions having a considerable degree of unity, while others are more miscellaneous.

As regards the forms of the verbs given below, infinitives are cited in most of the languages; but in Greek, Latin, Irish, Gaelic, Welsh, and Bulgarian the first person singular present, and in the old Indo-Iranian languages and Panjabi and Bengali the third person singular present are preferred, according to the custom of most of the lexicographical and philological writers. When a verb is given in the simplex, its compounds and other derived forms are omitted from the list, except when there are some special reasons for including them.

The following abbreviations are used for the languages and dialects from which citations are made:

Afgh.	Afghan.	LG.	Low German.
Alb.	Albanian.	Lith.	Lithuanian.
Arab.	Arabian.	LWend.	Lower Wendish.
Arm.	Armenian.	Mar.	Marathi.
Att.	Attic.	MBret.	Middle Breton.
Av.	Avestan.	MD.	Middle Dutch.
Bel.	Beluchi.	MHG.	Middle High German.
Beng.	Bengali.	MLG.	Middle Low German.
Boh.	Bohemian.	ModArm.	Modern Armenian.
Bret.	Breton.	ModGr.	Modern Greek.
Bulg.	Bulgarian.	OB.	Old Bulgarian.
Corn.	Cornish.	OE.	Old English.
Croat.	Croatian.	OFris.	Old Frisian.
Dan.	Danish.	OHG.	Old High German.
Eng.	English.	OIr.	Old Irish.
EFris.	East Frisian.	ON.	Old Norse.
Egd.	Engadine (Upper).	OP.	Old Persian.
Flem.	Flemish.	OPruss.	Old Prussian.
Fr.	French.	OS.	Old Saxon.
Gael.	Gaelic.	Osc.	Oscan.
Germ.	German.	Oss.	Ossetic.
Gheg.	Ghegish.	Pael.	Paelignian.
Goth.	Gothic.	Pahl.	Pahlavi.
Gr.	Greek.	Panj.	Panjabi.
Guj.	Gujarati.	Pers.	Persian.
Gypsy	Gypsy Dialects.	Pkt.	Prakrit.
Hebr.	Hebrew.	Pol.	Polish.
Hin.	Hindi.	Polab.	Polabian.
Hindust.	Hindustani.	Prov.	Provençal.
Icel.	Icelandic.	Ptg.	Portuguese.
Ir.	Irish.	Rum.	Rumanian.
Ital.	Italian.	Russ.	Russian.
Kurd.	Kurdish.	Ruth.	Ruthenian.
Lat.	Latin.	Serv.	Servian.
LEgd.	Lower Engadine.	Sin.	Sindhi.
Lett.	Lettic.	Singh.	Singhalese.

Skt.	Sanskrit.	Umb.	Umbrian.
Slov.	Slovenian.	UWend.	Upper Wendish.
Slovak.	Slovakian.	Ved.	Vedic.
Span.	Spanish.	Vols.	Volscian.
Swed.	Swedish.	WFris.	West Frisian.
Tosk.	Toskish.	WhRuss.	White Russian.

VERBS OF DOING AND MAKING.

I.

FROM WORDS DENOTING SUCH SPECIFIC ACTIONS AS,

1. *Put in place.* The IE. root **dhē* 'place,' 'put' is the most fruitful source of words of doing and making. The line of development is 'put in place,' that is in proper place or condition; hence 'make,' 'do.' Skt. *dādhāti*, Gypsy *thov*, *thovel*, Av. *dadāiti*, Pers. *dādan*, and Gr. *τίθημι*, in which the original meaning prevails, are used only occasionally in the more general sense of 'make.' See Böhtlingk-Roth, III, 903; Bartholomae, Iran. Wtb. 716, IV. and V.; Miklosich, Mund. u. Wandl. d. Zig. VIII, 82; Liddell & Scott, s. v. *τίθημι* B, III. 'Do,' 'make,' however, has become the usual force of the cognates in Italic, West Germanic, and several of the Slavic languages.

Thus, in Italic, Lat. *faciō* and its cognates in the dialects, Osc. *fakliad*, *factud*, etc., Umb. *fačia*, *fetu*, etc., Vols. *fačia*, and its Romance descendants Fr., Prov. *faire*, Ital. *fare*, Span. *hacer*, Ptg. *fazer*, Rum. *face*, Egd. *fer* (Upper), *far* (Lower) all continue to be the usual verbs of doing and making in notable contrast to the diversity in usage in some of the other groups, especially Slavic (see p. 39). In Umbrian the word occurs most frequently in the sense of 'sacrifice'; as, *buf treif fetu* "let him sacrifice three oxen," Ig. Tab. VIa, 22; but the more general

¹ This use is also well known in Latin in the language of the ritual. Gr. *ῥέω* (cf. II, 15 and p. 38), the most common verb of doing and making in Homer, is also used very frequently in connection with the performances of religious rites, and *ἑρπυσσύνῃ* from *ἑρᾶω* (cf. II, 22 and p. 38) meant 'religious services.' Moreover, Skt. *kr̥ṇōti*, *karōti* (cf. I, 10) is also often used in the sense of 'perform religious rites.' Cf. Ebeling, Lex. hom.; Liddell & Scott; Böhtlingk-Roth.

meaning appears in *ap itek fakust* "when he has done so," *ibid.* IV, 31. For the Oscan-Umbrian preference for a different word, cognate with Lat. *operor*, in the sense of 'make,' 'construct,' see II, 15.

In West Germanic cognates OHG., MHG. *tuon*, Germ. *tun*, LG. *dōn*, OS. *dōn*, Dutch, Flem. *doen*, OFris. *dwā*, Wfris. *dwān*, EFris. *dōn*, OE. *dōn*, Eng. *do*, the meaning 'do' prevails from the earliest times, though the original meaning 'place,' now obsolete, is also found in the earlier periods. Cf. Murray, New Eng. Dict.; Grimm, Deut. Wtb.; Paul, Deut. Wtb.; etc.

In Slavic there are three formations represented in Old Bulgarian by the primary verb *děti* 'place,' the iterative *dějati* 'place,' 'make,' 'do,' and *dělati* 'work,' a denominative of *dělo* 'work,' a derivative of the same root. Corresponding forms which are used in the sense of 'do' or 'make' are Russ. *dělat'*, Slov. *dělati*, Boh. *dělati* (the most common expressions in these languages); Slovak. *dělat'*, Pol. *działać*, Ruth. *dilaty*, Serbo-Croat. *dede* 'fac, fac,' WhRuss. *djelać*, UWend. *dśeć*, *dźěłać* (frequently used); OB. *dějati*, Slov. *dějati*, Serbo-Croat. *djesti*, Pol. *dziać* (not common); Boh. *děti* (*děju*), Polab. *sđdat*, (rare). It is to be noted that as regards the development in meaning the forms corresponding to OB. *dělati* belong with those given in II, 15.

As examples of other verbs of placing which are occasionally used in the sense of 'do' or 'make,' note *pōnō* in ecclesiastical Latin; e.g. *cornu tuum ponam ferreum, et ungulas tuas ponam aereas* "I will make thine horn iron, and I will make thy hoofs brass," Vulg. Mich. 4; 13. Cf. also Dan. *bestille* 'do,' 'bespeak,' 'engage,' Swed. *beställa*, Germ. *bestellen* 'put in place,' 'arrange,' 'perform,' 'execute,' 'do.' Gael. *cuir* 'put' also occasionally means 'perpetrate,' 'do,' as, *cuir an gníomh cointaich* 'perpetrate a fault.'

Cf. also Hebr. בָּנָה, בָּנָה, which has exactly the same development of meaning as have those verbs given above.

2. *Put in order, arrange.* Gr. *ποιέω* (earlier *ποιέω*, a denominative from **ποι-fo-*) is related to Skt. *cinóti* 'arrange,' 'pile up,' 'construct.' In Homer *ποιέω* is still used mainly, though

not exclusively, in the sense of 'construct,' 'build.' See Brugmann, Ber. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss., 1889, pp. 36ff. OB. *čini*, Russ. *čin* 'order,' 'rank' are probably from the same root, though possibly from that of *čisti*, *čitq* 'count.' In either case we have a parallel development of meaning in its denominative OB. *činiti* 'arrange in order,' which has become a common verb of doing and making in many of the Slavic languages. Thus Serv., Croat., Boh. *činiti*, Slovak. *činiť*, Pol. *czynić*, UWend. *czinić*, LWend. *čyniś* are the most common verbs of doing and making in these languages. OB. *počiniti* 'do,' 'make,' Bulg. *činja* 'do,' Ruth. *čynyty* 'do,' Slov. *činiti* 'do,' 'effect,' 'produce' are also used more or less frequently. Russ. *činit* 'put in order,' 'arrange,' while preserving its primary sense, is also used in the sense of 'do' or 'make.'

Slov. *rediti* 'arrange,' 'prepare,' 'produce,' 'make' shows the same development of meaning. Cf. OB. *ređū*, Lith. *rėdas* 'order,' Lett. *rēdīt* 'arrange in order,' etc. Slov. *narediti*, one of the perfectives of the same verb, is the most common expression for 'make' in this language.

Skt. *racāyati*¹ 'set in order,' 'prepare,' 'build,' 'make,' 'effect,' Pkt. *raei* 'prepare,' 'make,' Hin., Hindust., Panj. *rachnā* 'create,' 'arrange,' 'make' also belong here.

MHG. *zechen*, OE. *tēon* 'arrange,' 'produce,' 'make.' Sievers connects *tēon* with Goth. *taujan* (Ags. Gram. §408, Anm. 10), assuming that *tēon* came from **tēogan*. I should rather connect it with *zechen*, the meaning of which is so close to that of *tēon*. Again, these words can be connected with OE. *teohhian* 'consider,' 'think,' which is connected with Lat. *decet* 'seems good,' 'is proper,' Gr. *δέχομαι* 'receive kindly,' Skt. *daśasyāti*

¹ Uhlenbeck (Etym. Wtb. d. ai. Spr.) connects Skt. *racāyati* with OB. *reiti* 'say.' This connection seems the more probable, when we see that many Slavic verbs of doing and making (and their cognates) mean also 'say'. Cf. OB. *dējati* 'do,' 'say,' Serv., Croat. *dim* 'I say,' Boh. *diti* (*dím*) 'say,' Pol. *dziat* 'name,' 'call,' UWend. *dteē* (only in the impf.) 'say,' LWend. *śas* 'say,' Russ. *de* 'inquit,' Pol. *prawić* 'say,' 'speak' (cf. *sprawić*, I, 3), Slov. *praviti* 'tell,' 'relate,' (cf. *napraviti*, I, 3), Boh. *praviti* 'speak,' 'tell' (cf. *spraviti*, I, 3), UWend. *prajiti* 'speak.' Cf. also OPruss. *tickint* 'make' (see I, 7), Lett. *teikt* 'say.' It is not to be supposed that the meaning 'say' came directly from 'do,' but that both are independently developed from the same original meaning.

word, cf. *This lufly chere makis my hert glad, and many a tyme so has it gart*, Towneley myst IV, 104; *He, being leading his father's peats.....throo a heap of the said Janet Paton's muck, the said Janet said she should gar him alse good kuiross*, Witch Trial. See Murrrey, New Eng. Dict. G, p. 50.

Serv., Croat. *raditi* 'labor,' 'perform,' 'do,' Skt. *rādhnōti rādhyati* 'prepare,' 'make ready,' 'accomplish,' 'perform.' The related words are Av. *rādaiti* 'make ready,' 'prepare,' OB. *raditi* 'make provision,' 'take care,' Goth. *garēdan*, ON. *rāða*, OHG. *rātan*, Germ. *raten* 'give advice or counsel,' OE. *rādan* 'give advice,' 'read,' Ir. *imm-rādim* 'consider,' *no raidim* 'say,' 'speak' (cf. p. 13, foot-note); Germ. *Rat* 'provision,' 'means.' See Brugmann, Grd. II, pp. 880, 1047, 1151; Miklosich, Etym. Wtb. d. slav. Spr.; Uhlenbeck, Etym. Wtb. d. ai. Spr., and Etym. Wtb. d. got. Spr. For the use of the Serbo-Croatian verb, cf. *Što radiš?* "What do you do?" "How do you do?" "*Quid agis?*"

5. *Handle*. OHG. *hantālōn*, MHG., Germ. *handeln* often mean 'do.' Cf. *Handle so, wie du wünschst dass man gegen dich handelt* "Do as you wish to be done by." Note also how other cognates Dutch *handelen*, OFris. *handelja*, WFrís. *hanneljen*, EFrís. *handeln*, Eng. *handle* come near to the meaning 'do.'

Gr. *παλαμπόμαι* 'manage,' 'execute' furnishes a parallel to the above in the development of meaning. Cf. Gr. *παλμῆ*, Lat. *palma* 'palm,' OHG. *folma* 'hand.'

6. *Take hold of*. The cognate verbs of OB. *tvoriti* have often the force of 'do' or 'make' in the Slavic languages. Thus OB. *tvoriti*, Bulg. *struvam* are the most common verbs of doing and making in these languages. In Slovenian, *storiti* is the most common verb of doing. Russ. *tvorit'* is also commonly used in the sense of 'make.' Serv., Croat. *tvoriti*, Slov. *tvoriti*, UWend. *stworić*, LWend. *stvariš*, Ruth. *tworyty*, WhRuss. *tvorić*, verbs of producing and creating, are occasionally used in the more general sense of 'make.' Miklosich connects Lith. *tverti* 'take hold of'

with these verbs (Etym. Wtb. d. slav. Spr.) While I do not find this or any other etymology adopted elsewhere, it is entirely reasonable.

Lat. *patrō* 'achieve,' 'effect,' 'execute' furnishes a parallel in the development of meaning to these Balto-Slavic verbs. *Patrō* is related to OHG. *fazzōn* 'grasp,' 'seize,' *fezzil* 'sword string,' 'chain,' OE. *fetel* 'sword belt,' OB. *popada*, Lith *pūdas* 'vessel,' etc. (Walde, Lat. etym. Wtb.) For the change of *dr* to *tr*, cf. Lindsay, Lat. Lang. p. 289. Thus the original idea of Lat. *perpetrō*, Fr. *perpétrer*, Span., Ptg. *perpetrar*, Ital. *perpetrare*, Eng. *perpetrate* was 'take hold of entirely,' and then these verbs came to be used with special reference to wicked or criminal actions.

ON. *hafa* and (more usually) *athafa*, Icel. *aðhafa* 'have,' 'hold,' 'behave' mean also 'act,' 'do.' Cf. *Hvad hefir þú aðhafit?* "What hast thou done?" Cf. also Eng. *behave*.

7. *Fit, suit*. Arm. *ainel* (pf. *arari*) 'do,' 'make,' the most common expression in this language. For the original meaning, compare Gr. *δραπίζω* 'fit together,' 'fasten,' Skt. *áram* 'fitly,' 'suitably,' etc. See Hübschmann, Arm. Gram. I, p. 420; Brugmann, Grd. I², p. 432; etc.

ModArm. *ənel*, coming from the older *ainel*, is still the commonest verb of doing and making in the language.

OHG. *machōn*, MHG., Germ. *machen*, LG., Dutch, Flem. *maken*, OS. *macon*, OFris. *makia*, WFrís. *maaijen*, EFrís. *maken*, OE. *macian*, Eng. *make*. The related words are ON. (comp adj.) *makara* 'more suitable,' 'more fitting,' OE. *gemæc* 'fit,' 'suitable,' OHG. *gimah* 'adequate,' 'agreeable,' MHG. *gemach*, Germ. *Gemach* 'comfort,' 'chamber,' OE. *gemacca*, *macu* 'husband' or 'wife,' Eng. *make* 'companion,' 'mate,' *match*, OHG. *gimahho* 'companion,' etc. Meringer (IF. XVII, 146 ff.) discusses the meanings of these most common verbs of making in West Germanic, and traces them back to the original meaning 'knead,' applied either to the kneading of dough or to the similar process of working clay. This explanation seems to be probable (cf. I, 13). If so, these words are connected, as Meringer assumes they

are, with words which came from the Indo-European roots **maġ* and **mak̑*; Gr. *μαγειρος* 'cook,' *μασσω* 'knead the dough,' *μαζα* 'bread,' OB. *mazati* 'besmear,' 'annoint,' and Lat. *māceria* 'a wall of soft clay,' *mācerō* 'make soft,' ON. *maka* 'smear,' etc. Whatever their original meaning might have been, these verbs developed to their present meaning, however, at least in Germanic, through the meaning 'fit,' 'suit,' and for this reason they are classified in this group. ✓

It is to be noted that in earlier times these Germanic verbs were not so commonly used as they are in later periods. Cf. such expressions as *der aller reiner herzen bluot ze frōiden tuot*, Gfr. Lobges. 72; *din mære mich hōhes muotes tuot*, Mai 100, 4, where a modern German would use *machen* instead of *tun*. Cf. also *dōp his sīdas rihte* 'make his path straight,' to *cyminge dōn* 'make a king,' Ors. 6, 4; etc.

OPruss. *tickinti* 'make.' The related words are Lith. *tik̑ti* 'fit,' 'suit,' *tikras* 'right,' 'true,' *taikinti* 'arrange,' 'reconcile,' etc. (Leskien, Ablaut d. Wurzelsilben im Lit. p. 289.)

Pahl. *sāxtan*, Pers. *sāxtan* (3rd sg. *sāxad*) 'make' is the causative to *saxīdan* (3rd sg. *saxad*) 'suit' from an Iranian root *sac*. See Horn, Neupers. Etym. p. 153; Bartholomae, Grd. Iran. Phil. I, 1, p. 299. Horn compares Germ. *behaben*, etc., which others, however, connect with Skt. *çaknōti*. Bartholomae (Altiran. Wtb.) compares Skt. *çaknōti* with Av. *sac* which he renders 'understand,' 'bear in mind,' but (p. 1553) separates entirely the Persian words. But, if we start from a primary meaning 'fit,' all the words mentioned above may be connected. The original meaning 'fit' can easily be developed to 'be fit to do,' so 'be able,' 'can,' then also 'understand,' 'know,' 'learn,' as *vice versa* 'can' from 'know' in Germanic.

Gr. *τεύχω* 'make,' 'create,' 'construct' (pf. pass. part. *τετυγμένος* 'well or fitly made'). Cf. *τυγχάνω* 'hit,' 'meet,' 'happen,' *τεῦχος* 'tool,' 'arms,' Goth. *dugan*, Germ. *taugen* 'be of worth,' 'serve the purpose' (Osthoff, Perfect pp. 304ff.; Uhlenbeck, Etym. Wtb. d. got. Spr. p. 376). Cf. *αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐλώρια τεύχε κύνεσσιν* "and made them prey for the dogs" Iliad A, 4.

8. *Fasten*. OPruss. *seggūt* 'do.' The cognate words are Lith. *sègti* 'fix,' 'fasten,' *sagtis* 'buckle,' 'clasp,' *apsėga* 'enclosure' (Leskien, Ablaut d. Wurzelsilben im Lit. p. 365).

9. *Distribute*. Skt. *vidádhati* 'distribute,' 'apportion,' 'put in order,' 'arrange,' 'form,' 'perform,' 'effect,' 'make' (Böhtlingk-Roth; Monier-Williams, Skt. Dict.), Pkt. *vihei* 'make' (Dhanapala, Paiyalacchi 77).

10. *Cut* MHG., Germ. *schaffen*, EFris. *scheppen* 'create,' 'make.' Goth. *gaskappjan* also means 'create,' 'make.' The cognate words are Lith. *skabėti* 'cut,' *skabūs* 'sharp,' OB. *skoblī* 'scraping iron,' Lat. *scabō* 'scrape,' 'scratch' (Uhlenbeck, Etym. Wtb. d. got. Spr.; Walde, Lat. etym. Wtb.) The line of development in meaning seems to have been 'cut,' 'shape,' 'create,' and so 'make,' 'do.' In colloquial German, *schaffen* is frequently used for *tun* and *machen*. Cf. *Ich habe mit ihm nichts zu schaffen* 'I have nothing to do with him'; *Wer nichts zu schaffen (tun or machen) hat, macht sich was zu schaffen* (proverb). *Schaffen*, in this and many other colloquial usages, is a weak verb.

Skt. *kālpáyati* (caus.), Pali *kappeti* (caus.). 'set in order,' 'bring about,' 'execute,' 'make.' For the original meaning, cf. *kālpate* 'partake of,' 'divide,' Pkt. *kappate* 'cut into pieces,' Lat. *scalpō* 'cut,' 'scratch,' Gr. *σκάλοψ* 'mole,' *σκόλοψ* 'stake,' 'pale,' Goth. *halbs*, ON. *halfr*, Eng. *half* (originally 'divided'). See P. Perssen, KZ. XXXIII, p. 289; Uhlenbeck, Etym. Wtb. d. ai. Spr.; Walde, Lat. etym. Wtb.; Kluge, Etym. Wtb. d. deut. Spr. Here the line of development in meaning seems to have been 'cut,' 'divide,' 'set in order' (caus.), 'arrange,' and so 'make.'

I am disposed to add here, though it is less certain that the original meaning was 'cut,' the group of words which furnishes the usual expression of 'do' and 'make' in the whole Indo-Iranian family; namely, Skt. *kṛnóti* (Ved.), *karóti*, Pali *karoti*, Pkt. *karai*, Hin., Hindust., Panj. *kornā*, Sin. *karanu*, Guj. *karvuñ*, Beng. *karito*, Mar. *karane*, Singh. *kara*, etc., Gypsy *ker-*, Av. *kərənaoiti*, OP. *kar-*, Pahl. *kartan*, Pers. *kardan*, Afgh. *kṛal*, Kurd. *kirin*,

Bel. *kanag*, Oss. *k'anun*, etc. Here may be added Welsh *peri* 'make' (generally as auxiliary verb for the causative, 2nd. Imv. *par* being commonly used in prayers), Corn. *pery* 'thou wilt do,' and MBret. *dipr* 'do.' The most probable cognates are Lith. *kūrti* 'build' (originally used for building a house, but now mostly used for making a fire), Lat. *corpus* 'body', Ir. *cruth*, Corn. *pery* 'form,' 'figure,' 'countenance,' Welsh *prŷd* 'appearance' (Uhlenbeck, Etym. Wtb. d. ai. Spr.),—all pointing to a root **q̣zer*, while Lat. *creō*, though also connected with these Indo-Iranian verbs by Uhlenbeck and others, is best separated and connected with the root of Lat. *crēscō*, etc. (cf. Osthoff, Et. Par. I, 1 ff.; Walde, Lat. etym. Wtb., s.v. *creō*.) The meaning 'shape,' 'construct,' which is common to those words given above, comes without doubt from some still more specific force; and it is likely, as already suggested by Walde (Lat. etym. Wtb., s.v. *corpus*), that this was 'cut,' **q̣zer* being one of the parallel roots to be assumed for the numerous words of cutting (Lith. *skirti* 'divide,' OE., OHG. *sceran* 'cut with scissors,' Skt. *kr̥ṇāti* 'kill,' 'harm,' etc.), which no two scholars group in precisely the same way.

11. *Mark off*. Skt. *mīmāti* 'mark off,' 'measure,' 'mete out,' 'arrange,' 'fashion,' 'build,' 'form,' 'make' (Böhtlingk-Roth; Monier-Williams, Skt. Dict.), Pkt. *nimmāyai* 'make' (Dhanapala, Paiyalacchi 77). Cf. OB. *mēra* 'measure,' Gr. *μέτρος* 'counsel,' 'plan,' Lat. *metior* 'measure,' Goth. *mēla* 'bushel' (Uhlenbeck, Etym. Wtb. d. ai. Spr.)

12. *Plow, till the soil*. Boh. *pachati* 'do,' 'make,' 'commit.' The related words are OB. *pachati*, Russ. *pachat'*, Pol. *pachac* 'plow,' 'till the soil,' which are connected with Lat. *pastinum* 'pick-ax,' 'mattock,' 'hoe,' *pāla* 'spade' (Fick, I², 672; Havet, Mém. Soc. Ling. IV, 85; Fröhde, BB. XVI, 208; Pedersen, IF. V, 52; Walde, Lat. etym. Wtb., s.v. *pāla*). Cf. further for the development of meaning the verbs which came from the words meaning 'work' (II, 15).

13. *Knead*. Lat. *fungō* 'form,' 'shape,' 'fashion,' 'make.' Its related words are Skt. *dēgdhi* 'smear,' *dehī* 'wall,' OP. *didā* 'fortress,' Gr. *τεῖχος* 'wall,' Goth. *deigan* 'knead,' Germ. *Teig*, Eng. *dough*. According to Meringer (IF. XVII, 146 ff.), an exact parallel in the development of meaning is found in Germ. *machen*, Eng. *make*, and their cognate words. Cf. I, 7.

14. *Bake*. EFris. *bakken* 'make,' 'perform,' 'accomplish.' It means also 'bake' and is connected with Eng. *bake*, Germ. *backen*, etc. For the development of meaning, compare the English expressions "well done" for "well baked," and "half baked" for "poorly done". Moreover, Eng. *bake* was used at a certain period to mean 'prepare,' 'make ready.' Cf. *Whan pou doest thus, there bale pou bakeste*, Pol. R. & L. Poems 194, circa 1460 A.D. This development of meaning is exactly what we expect to have been that of the Frisian verb, and it is only just a step that the meaning 'prepare,' 'make ready' is developed to that of 'make,' 'do.' Cf. I, 4. As an example illustrating how the original specific meaning may be generalized, I mention here an English word *batch*, which came from the same root as *bake*. *Batch* originally meant 'the process of baking' or 'a baking,' 'a quantity of bread produced at one baking,' but now the word is used for 'a number of things or persons introduced, put, or treated together.' See Murray, New Eng. Dict., s.v. *bake* and *batch*.

It is possible, but less probable, that *bakken* is an entirely different verb from the word which means 'bake.' It may be that the verb is connected with Lat. *agō* 'lead,' 'do,' ON. *aka* 'drive,' 'carry' with the Germanic prefix *be-*. Cf. II, 28.

II.

FROM WORDS DENOTING ACTIVITY (EXERTION AND MOTION) AS,

15. *Exert one's self, work, toil*. From IE. **uerǵ*, Eng. *work*, Gr. *ἐργον*, etc. Av. *varəraitī* 'do,' 'make' (see quotations

in Bartholomæ, Altiran. Wtb.); Gr. ἐργάζω, frequently also ἐργάζομαι; OIr. *fairged* 'made.' Arm. *gorcel* generally means 'work,' but frequently also 'do;' as, *oç apakhēn ew nakhsawoëkh zəoyñ gercen*. "do not even the publicans the same?" Matt. 5; 46. Goth. *waúrkijan* is also often used in a general sense of 'make;' as, *Herodis nahtamāt waúrhta páim maistām seinaiže* "Herod made a supper to his lords," Mark 6; 21; *waúrkeip þans mans anakumbjan* "make men sit down," John 6; 10. Similarly ON. *yrkja*, OHG., Germ. *wirken*, OS. *werkon*, *wirkian*; EFris. *warken*, OE. *wyrcan* (cf. Eng. *wrought*).

From IE. *ōp, Lat. *opus*, *operor*, Skt. *āpas*, etc. The Oscan-Umbrian cognates of Lat. *operor* are used in the sense of 'make,' 'construct,' when Latin would use *faciō*. These are Osc. *úpsed* 'fēcit,' Umb. *osatu* 'facito,' Pæl. *upsaseter* 'fieret.' The Romance derivatives Span., Ptg. *obrar* mean 'accomplish,' 'execute' (cf. also Ital. *operare*, Egð. *operer*, etc.) Bret. *ober*,¹ the most common verb of doing and making in the language, is borrowed from Latin. The English cognate OE. *cēfan* 'perform,' 'do' (Walde, Lat. etym. Wtb. p. 435, s.v. *opus*) has practically the same force as the Romance verbs. Dan. *udøve*, Swed. *utöfva*, Germ. *ausüben*, *verüben* 'commit,' in which the prefixes have played an important part in the development of meaning, are now mostly used of wicked or criminal actions.

From IE. *arbh, Goth. *arbaips* 'work,' etc. Germ. *arbeiten* and its Germanic cognates come very near to the meaning 'do.' Most of the Slavic cognates preserve the original meaning, but some of them mean simply 'make,' 'do.' Thus, Ruth. *robyty*, Pol. *robić*, and Slovak. *robiť* have become the most common verbs of doing and making in these languages. UWend. *robić* also has this meaning beside its primary sense 'work.'

Gr. *ἔργω* 'work,' 'toil,' cognate with Skt. *ṣamyati* 'toil,' has become the most common verb of doing and making in Modern Greek. This use is already found in Byzantine authors. Cf. Sophocles, "*ἔργω=ποιέω*." Hesychius also has the gloss *ἐργάζομαι*. See p. 38.

¹ This word is used only as the infinitive. For all finite forms of the verb, the original Breton word *gra-* is used. See II, 28.

Gr. *πονέομαι* 'toil,' 'work hard' is only occasionally used in the sense of 'make.' See Liddell & Scott. Compare further *ὁν δάμαστος οὗτος σῶμα καὶ στήθος πονήθη* "with the people he made this mound to his brother," SGDI. 3188; Roberts, No. 98 (see note p. 129).

From IE. **yen*, Skt. *vānati* 'desire,' 'win,' Lat. *vēnor* 'hunt,' Goth. *winnan* 'suffer,' OE. *winnan* 'labor,' 'strive,' etc. The cognate ON. and Icel. *vinna* has developed a general sense of 'do' under certain circumstances beside its primary meaning 'work,' 'labor,' 'strive.' Cf. Icel. *og þræli mínum að vinna þetta eður hitt, þá vinnur hann það* "and (I say) to my servant; Do this and he doeth it," Luke 7; 8. Compare also the same passage in Matthew, where *gjöra* is used instead of *vinna*; *æða þræli mínum að gjöra eitthva, þá gjörir hann það*, Matt. 8; 9.

From IE. **ueik*, Lat. *vincō* 'conquer,' Goth. *weihan*, OHG. *wihan* 'fight,' etc. The Lithuanian and Welsh cognates *veikti* and *gweithio* (cf. Brugmann, Grd. I², 576; Zimmer, KZ. XXX, 20), which commonly mean 'work,' are also occasionally used for the more general sense of 'do;' as, Lith., *Ką be veiki?* "What are you doing?" or "How do you do?"; Welsh, *A dywedodd yr Arglwydd, Wele y bobl yn un, ac un iaith iddynt oll, a dyma eu dechreuad hwynt ar weithio: ac yr awr hon nid oes rwystr arnynt am ddim oll a'r a amcanasant ei wneithur* "and the Lord said, Behold, they are one people, and they have all one language; and this is what they begin to do: and now nothing will be withholden from them which they purpose to do," Gen. 11; 6. Compare also the use of both *gweithio* and *gwnethur* (II, 28) in this passage.

16. *Be attentive, observant.* Lat. *nāvō* 'do zealously,' 'perform diligently,' 'effect,' 'accomplish.' This is the denominative of *nāvus* 'active,' 'busy,' 'industrious,' which seems to have come from **gnāvus*, and so is connected with *gnōscō* 'know.' Thus **gnāvus* seems to have meant originally 'knowing' or 'wishing to know,' and so 'attentive,' 'observant.' Walde, following d'Arbois de Jubainville (Mém. Soc. Ling. VI, 56), connects this word with OIr. *doḡnú* 'do,' 'make;' but cf. III, 29.

17. *Take care of.* Dutch *plegen* 'tend,' 'be accustomed,' 'practise,' 'commit,' 'execute,' 'do.' The word is related to Germ. *pflügen* 'care for' and its cognates. It may be connected also with Gr. *βλέπω* 'look,' 'care for.'

18. *Remain, remain firm.* Here we have a number of verbs whose development in meaning is similar to that of the preceding verbs given under this group, but which have, as a starting point, a meaning which apparently is just the opposite of what we should expect. These are:

Skt. *çīlāti* 'meditate,' 'be intent upon,' 'cultivate,' 'practise,' 'do,' 'make.' The noun *çīlam* means 'habit,' 'character,' 'practice.' Uhlenbeck (Etym. Wtb. d. ai. Spr.) connects it with *çévas* 'intimate,' 'dear,' *çívás* 'kind,' 'good,' etc., and further with *céte*, Gr. *xeîmu* 'lie,' 'remain.'

Pali *adhiṭṭhati* 'stand on,' 'stay,' 'remain firm,' 'devote one's self,' 'practise,' 'perform.'

OE. *drēogan* 'suffer,' 'fight,' 'perform,' 'do,' ON., Icel. *drýgja* 'commit,' 'perpetrate.' The East Germanic cognate Goth. *driugan* means 'do military service.' These words are connected with Skt. *dhruvās* 'constant,' 'steady' (Wood, IE. A²: A²I: A²U § 361c). Thus the original meaning seems to have been 'remain firm,' 'endure.'

19. *Stretch.* Skt. *sévati*, Pali *paṭi-sevati*, Pkt. *sevai* 'dwell,' 'devote one's self,' 'practise,' 'perform,' 'do.' No satisfactory explanation of this word has yet been proposed. Uhlenbeck (Etym. Wtb. d. ai. Spr.) suggests derivation from the verb 'go' with the prefix *sa-* (**sa-i-va*); but I should rather connect it with Skt. *sināti* 'bind.' 'Lett. *sēt* 'fasten,' Lith. *sėtas* 'rope,' OB. *silo* 'Seil,' etc., assuming that all these words came from the IE. root **sēi*. The primary meaning of the root seems to have been 'stretch' (Wood, Mod. Lang. Notes XVIII, 13 f.) and then it has been developed to 'bind,' 'continue,' 'dwell,' 'devote one's self,' 'practise,' 'perform,' etc.

We have another example illustrating the same development

of meaning in Skt. *samtanáyati* (caus.) 'cause to join,' 'continue,' 'practise,' 'commit' from the Skt. root *tan*, IE. **ten* 'stretch.'

20. *Join together.* Skt. *ghatáyati* (caus.), Pkt. *ghādei* (caus.) 'cause to unite,' 'join together,' 'exert one's self,' 'perform,' 'make.'

Skt. *yajáyati* (caus.), *prayunákti*, Pali *payojeti* (caus.) 'practise,' 'perform,' 'accomplish,' 'do.' Cf. Gr. *ζεύνομαι*, Lat. *iungō*.

Considering simply the original meaning of the words, we should class these verbs with OPruss. *seggīt* (I. 8), which came from the original meaning 'fasten;' but there the line of development in meaning was 'fasten,' 'fasten together,' 'construct,' 'maké,' while here it is 'join together,' 'continue,' 'persist,' 'devote one's self,' 'practise,' 'perform,' 'do.' *Ghatáyati*, however, has also developed from its original sense the meanings 'fashion,' 'form,' 'make,' and for this development of meaning it may also be classed with *seggīt*.

21. *Be active, stirring.* Goth. *taujan* 'do,' 'make,' the most common expression in East Germanic, and its cognates in North Germanic, Old Norse Runic inscr. *tavido* 'I made,' ON. *téja*, *týja* 'help,' 'assist;' 'do,' 'make.' The West Germanic cognates OHG. *zawjan* MHG. *zouwen*, MLG., MD. *tourwen* mean 'prepare,' 'arrange' and also occasionally 'make.' See Osthoff, IF. V, 282. For the original meaning, compare other cognates OHG. *zawēn* MHG. *zouwen*, MD. *tourwen* 'hasten,' 'succeed,' Skt. *duvās-* 'press forward,' *dūtās*, Av. *dūtō* 'messenger,' etc. Cf. Brugmann, IF. XIX, 383.

ON. *téja*, *týja* seems to have been in earlier times the most common verb of doing and making in North Germanic, and later to have been crowded out by *görva*. Although *téja* is now commonly used in the sense of 'help,' 'assist,' which seems to have been one of the secondary meanings of the word (note that *görva*, too, means 'help,' 'assist' beside its prevailing meaning 'do,' 'make'), it is used also as an auxiliary verb in somewhat the same way as English *do*,—the usage which in all probability came

into existence when the word was once the most common verb of doing and making. Cf. *sol ter sortna* "the sun does blacken," Vsp. 57; *aðr tæði ben blæða* "blood did flow," Nj.; etc.

Skt. *vésati vīvesti* 'be active,' 'run,' 'work as a servant,' 'work,' 'do' (Böhtlingk-Roth; Monier-Williams, Skt. Dict.) The related words are Gr. *αἰδλος* (from **ἀφισολο*?) 'movable,' 'active,' *αἰέλουρος*, *αἴλουρος* (from **ἀφισελο*-, **ἀφισλο*-) 'wiesel,' 'cat,' Eng. *wiesel*, Lith. *visgù* 'tremble,' 'shake' (Uhlenbeck, Etym. Wtb. d. ai. Spr.)

22. *Run*. Gr. *ῥᾶω*, a common verb of doing. The old connection with *ῥᾶω*, Skt. *drāti* 'run' (Curtius, Nr. p. 273; Prellwitz, Etym. Wtb. d. gr. Spr.) is altogether probable. In Homer this verb is applied to the actions of servants, whose service seems to have consisted chiefly in running about for their masters. So *δρηστήρ* and *δρήστειρα* 'servant,' *δρηστοσύνη* 'the occupation of a low servant or worker.'

Lith. *dariyti*, Lett. *darīt* 'do,' 'make,' the most common expression in these languages. The related words are Lith. *derėti*, Lett. *deret* 'bargain,' 'haggle,' Lett. *derinat* 'engage,' 'hire,' Lith. *derenti* 'reconcile,' 'appease,' Lith. *sándara* 'consent,' *dora* 'agreement,' etc. (Leskien, Ablaut d. Wurzelsilben im Lit. p. 99.) *Dariyti* is also commonly connected with Gr. *ῥᾶω* (cf. Fick, III¹, p. 619; Brugmann, Gr. Gram. p. 299; Prellwitz, Etym. Wtb. d. gr. Spr.; Hirt, Ablaut §227; etc.) I am inclined to accept this connection, and take 'run' as the original meaning of those Baltic words given above. It seems to me that the idea of people's running back and forth for bargaining underlies all the meanings of these words. Cf. also Eng. *runner* means a 'commercial traveler.'

Dariyti, however, can be connected with IE. root **dher*, Skt. *dharáyati* 'hold,' Lat. *firmus* 'firm,' etc., in which case the original meaning of this Lithuanian verb was 'hold' (cf. I, 6). The same verb may again be connected with Lith. *dárbas* 'work,' *dĩrbti* 'labor,' OE. *gedeorf* 'effort,' 'labor,' *deorfan* 'labor,' etc. For the development of meaning, cf. II, 15.

23. *Turn.* MHG. *werben* 'transact,' 'do.' Cf. OHG. *werben* (older *hwerben*) 'turn round,' 'be active,' Germ. *werben* 'make effort,' 'obtain,' OS. *hwerben* 'go hither and thither,' Goth. *hwaírban* 'wander.' The line of development in meaning seems to have been 'turn,' 'go round,' 'be active,' and so 'perform,' 'do.'

Skt. *vártati*, Pkt. *vattai* 'turn,' 'act,' 'do.' Cf. *Kim idam vartase* "What are you doing there?"

24. *Go.* ON., Icel. *fara* 'go,' 'proceed,' 'handle,' 'manage,' 'do.'

MHG. *schikken* 'make,' 'do,' 'perform.' This is the factative of *schehen* 'go' (for *kk*, see Brugmann, Grd. I³, 383). Cf. Germ. *geschickt* 'skilful' and *geschehen* 'happen.' The verb is connected with Goth. *skēujan*, ON. *skæva* 'go' from IE. **skēq** (Kluge, Etym. Wtb. d. deut. Spr., 5th. edition). Although Kluge himself gave up this connection in the last edition of his dictionary, his first view seems to be the better one, for his new connections either with ON. *skipa* 'put in order' or with Fr. *équiper* and Eng. *shift* do not seem at all satisfactory. For the development in meaning, compare colloquial Japanese *yaru* 'let go,' 'send away,' 'give,' 'make,' 'do.'

Skt. *cáratī* 'go,' 'undertake,' 'practise,' 'perform,' and also 'do' or 'act' in general; as *vratāni carati* 'observe vows,' AV. &c.; *bhāikṣam carati* 'beg,' Mn. 2; *mṛgayam carati* 'hunt,' MBh.; etc. (see Monier-Williams, Skt. Dict., s.v. *cáratī* 7.) Pali *ajjhā-carati* 'practise,' 'perform,' *ācarati* 'act,' 'perform,' 'do,' 'commit.' Cf. *Akiccam ācarati* "he commits a crime," Ab. 738. Pkt. *āyarai* 'make,' 'do.'

Meringer (IF. XVII, pp. 125 f.) considers that *cáratī* came from the original meaning 'plow,' 'till the soil' (cf. I. 12). This is not improbable, for the related words are Lat. *colō* 'dwell,' *colōnus* 'farmer,' *inquilīnus* 'sojourner,' *culter* 'ploughshare,' 'kitchen knife,' 'butcher's knife,' etc. Whatever the original meaning might have been, however, the development of the more general sense of 'do,' 'perform' in this verb came, no doubt, in

Sanskrit, from the meaning 'go,' and, for this reason, this verb is given here.

ON., Icel. *breyta* 'alter,' 'change,' also 'behave,' 'do.' The cognate words are ON. *brjóta* 'break,' 'destroy,' *braut* 'road,' OE. *brēotan*, Swed. *bryta*, Dan. *bryde* 'break.' For the use of this verb, cf. *þann veg mun og minn himneski faðir breyta við yður* "so shall also my heavenly Father do unto you," Matt. 18; 35.

It is very difficult to explain how *breyta* came to mean both 'alter,' 'change' and 'behave,' 'do.' The explanation, however, seems to be as follows:

The root originally must have meant 'break,' which developed ON. *braut* 'road' (cf. the same development of meaning in Fr. *route* from Lat. *rupta* 'broken,' *rumpō* 'break'). Then a denominative verb was formed from *braut*, meaning 'go on the way,' 'walk on the road,' therefore 'behave,' 'act,' and then 'do;' but, at the same time, this newly formed denominative verb has adopted the meaning of the original verb, while the latter, which should have been **breuta*, was entirely lost.

For a comparison I mention here a common verb of making, doing, and acting in Chinese. This is *hsing* 行, its original meaning being 'go,' 'walk.' In Chinese, *tao* 道 'way' is regularly used for a religion, a moral principle or duty. So the doctrine taught by Lao Tzæ is called *Taoism*. Cf. the words of Jesus as recorded in John 14; 6, where he says, "I am the way." Thus the expression *go* or *walk on one's way* regularly meant in Chinese 'act according to moral principles,' 'do a moral action,' and in this way *hsing* 'go' came to mean 'act,' 'do.'

25. *Step, walk*. Russ. *postupit'* 'step,' 'walk,' but frequently also 'conduct one's self,' 'act.' Cf. OB. *stapiti* 'step,' 'go,' UWend. *hustup* 'foot,' etc. (Miklosich, Etym. Wtb. d. slav. Spr., s.v. **stomp-*.) Cf. also Eng. *walk* in the sense of 'act;' as, *walk humbly with thy God* (see Century Dict., s.v. *walk* 5), beside its usual meaning 'go on foot,' though the latter is a specialization of a more general meaning 'move rapidly' (cf. Germ. *walken*, Skt. *valg-* 'spring,' 'jump,' etc.)

bedriřva, Germ. *betreiben* 'commit,' 'transact' may also belong here.

Cf. also Skt. *vāṭayati* (caus.) 'cause to go,' 'move,' 'operate,' 'perform,' Mar. *nirvāhaṇe* 'carry on,' 'operate,' 'do.'

III.

29. *Cause to be born.* OIr. *gnítm*, *do-gnú*, encl. *dénim*, Ir. *gnidhim*, *deanaim*, Gael. *dèan*, Manx *jinnoo*, the most common expressions for 'do' and 'make' in these languages, are all from the same root, which has been identified by some with that of Skt. *jāyate*, Gr. *γίγνομαι* 'be born,' by others with that of Skt. *jānāti*, Gr. *γινώσκω* 'know.' The latter connection is given by Stokes in Fick, II⁴, p. 116 (cf. also Walde, Lat. etym. Wtb., s.v. *nāvus*), while the former and earlier connection (cf. Windisch, KZ. XXIII, 263; d' Arbois de Jubainville, Mém. Soc. Ling. VI, 56) is still preferred by Thurneysen, as appears from a letter to Prof. Buck in which he kindly answers some inquiries regarding these and other Celtic forms. And, as the connection with *γίγνομαι*, etc. is somewhat simpler on the formal side, so also it is on the semantic side; for the meaning 'know' seems to have developed the force of 'do,' 'make' only rarely and in a round-about way (cf. II, 16, s.v. Lat. *nāvō*). For the causative formation of *dognú*, cf. Windisch, KZ. XXVII, 164.

Gael. *gnìomhaich* 'act,' 'perform' is a denominative from *gnìomh* 'deed,' 'action,' which came from the same root.

30. *Bring into existence.* Skt. *bhāváyati* (caus.) 'bring into existence,' 'produce,' 'make,' Lat. *fiō* 'be done' (regularly used for the passive of *faciō*). Both came from IE. **bheya*, **bhū* 'become.'

31. *Cause to grow.* Lat. *creō* 'create,' 'produce,' also often 'make' (especially in the sense of appointing some one to an office). The verb is often connected with Skt. *kr̥ṇóti*, but I agree with

Osthoff (Etym. Parerga I, 1 ff.) in connecting it with those words which came from IE. **ker* 'grow,' 'increase,' *creō* being a causative verb. The related words are Lat. *crēscō* 'increase,' Arm. *ser* 'descendant,' Gr. *κόρη* 'girl,' Goth. *hatrda* 'herd,' etc. (cf. Walde, Lat. etym. Wtb.)

32. *Cause to turn out.* Skt. *vartáyati* (caus.) 'make turn,' 'prepare,' 'perform,' *prāvartáyati* (caus.) 'build,' 'make,' *nirvartáyati* (caus.), *pravartáyati* (caus.) 'produce,' 'effect,' 'perform,' 'execute,' etc. Cf. II, 23.

33. *Cause to come forth.* Skt. *nispādáyati* (caus.) 'cause to come forth,' 'bring about,' 'accomplish,' 'perform,' 'do,' Pali *abhinipphādeti* (caus.) 'accomplish,' 'make,' Skt. *sampādáyati*, Pkt. *sānpādei* 'cause to succeed,' 'bring about,' 'effect,' 'accomplish,' Mar. *sānpādane* 'accomplish,' 'perform.'

34. *Bring to light.* Alb. *beñ* (Tosk.), *baĵ* (Gheg.) 'do,' 'make,' the most common expression in the language. It is related to Gr. *φαίνω* 'bring to light,' hence 'bring into existence,' 'create,' etc. Cf. Gr. *φαίνομαι* 'come to light' and sometimes 'come into being,' 'become' (Liddell & Scott, s.v. B, 2b).

IV.

35. *Be at the head of, be in charge.* Gr. *ᾱρᾱίνω* 'govern,' 'accomplish,' 'fulfil.'

Lat. *praestō* 'take upon one's self,' 'discharge,' 'fulfil,' 'execute.'

V.

Here we have verbs which came from words referring originally to the beginning, furtherance, or completion of an action, or the following out or discharge of a duty. None of these except Gr. *πράττω*, however, is the common verb of doing and making,

although they are frequently or occasionally used for this sense. There are a great number of these verbs in various languages and the following verbs are given as illustrations for the development of meanings in this direction. It is to be noted that there are many words in this group which originally referred to words of exertion and motion (cf. II), but here the emphasis is on the notion of result rather than on the activity itself. Indeed, all perfective forms and the compounds which also have the perfective sense of the verbs of doing and making belong here; but it does not seem necessary to discuss them, since their imperfect or simplex forms are given elsewhere.

36. *Begin.* Skt. *pratipādyati* 'begin,' 'go to,' 'undertake,' 'perform,' 'do any thing to any person.'

EFris. *angān* 'begin,' 'approach,' 'execute,' 'do.'

37. *Further, promote.* ON., Icel. *fremja*, OHG. *frumman*, MHG. *vrümen*, OS. *fremmian*, OE. *fremian* 'further,' 'promote,' 'accomplish,' 'do.' These verbs are connected with Goth. *fram*, OE. *from*, etc. meaning 'forth,' and Goth. *fruma*, Gr. *πρόμος*, Lith. *pirmas*, etc. meaning 'first,' 'foremost.' Eng. *perform* is generally connected with these words (cf. Cent. Dict.)

Gr. *πορεύω* 'bring forward,' 'offer,' 'provide,' 'make ready,' 'accomplish,' 'execute.'

Skt. *pranāyati* 'lead forward,' 'produce,' 'perform,' 'execute,' 'accomplish,' 'do,' Pali *pañeti* 'bring,' 'perform,' 'execute.'

Skt. *pratanōti* 'spread out,' 'lead forth,' 'begin to practise,' 'practise,' 'perform.'

38. *Go straight.* Skt. *sādhati* 'straighten,' 'go straight to any goal or aim,' 'attain an object,' 'accomplish,' 'execute,' 'perform,' 'make,' Pali *sādheti* (caus.), Pkt. *sāheti* (caus.) 'prepare,' 'accomplish,' 'effect,' Hindust. *sādhnā* 'set,' 'fix,' 'perform,' 'practise,' 'do,' Sin. *sādhanu*, Mar. *sādhane* 'perform,' 'do,' Skt. *sidhyati*, Pkt. *sijjhai* 'hit a mark,' 'attain,' 'succeed,' 'accomplish,' 'effect.' Some connect *sādh-* and *sidh-* together, and consider the

latter to be in the reduced grade of the former. Others consider *sidh-* to be connected with Gr. *ῥθυ-* 'straight' (cf. Uhlenbeck, Etym. Wtb. d. ai. Spr.) Wood connects all these words on the base of IE. **sēidh-* (Mod. Lang. Notes XVIII, 13 f.) The development of meaning in Sanskrit is in the order 'strighten,' 'go straight to the goal,' 'succeed,' 'accomplish,' 'do.' The following is an example of the use of the Hindustani verb:

Ekahi sādhe, sab sādhe ; sab jāē.

Jo gah seve mūl ko phūle phale aghaē.

"But one thing do, all will come true,
At all things strain, all will prove vain.
Who serves the root will eat the fruit."

(Fallon, Hindust. Dictionary.)

39. *Get through, go over.* Gr. *πράττω* 'do,' 'work,' 'accomplish,' *περάω*, *περαίνω* 'pass across or through,' 'finish,' 'accomplish,' 'execute.' These words came from *περά* 'across.' In Homer *πράττω* is still used in its primary sense 'pass across or through.' Cf. *ἡέρα ἐσσαμένω ῥίμψα πρήσσοντε κέλευθον* "shrouded about with mist, swiftly they sped on their way," Il. 14, 282; *ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ἄλα πρήσσοντες ἀπῆμεν* "but when we were away crossing the sea," Od. 9, 491.

Skt. *ātanōti* 'stretch over,' 'pass over,' 'spread out,' 'produce,' 'effect.'

Dan. *begaa*, Swed. *begå*, MHG. *begān*, Germ. *begehen*, OE. *begān* 'commit,' 'perpetrate,' 'do.'

Lat. *obeō* 'go against,' 'go to,' 'travel through,' 'go over,' 'perform,' 'accomplish.'

Swed. *utföra*, Dan. *udføre*, Germ. *ausführen* 'carry through (or out),' 'finish,' 'accomplish,' 'do.' Cf. also Eng. *transact*.

40. *Reach.* Skt. *paryāpāyati* (caus.), *samāpnōti*, *prāpnōti* 'reach,' 'obtain,' 'accomplish.'

Gr. *ἐξίχνεσθαι* 'arrive at,' 'reach,' 'complete,' 'accomplish.'

Colloquial Japanese *itasu*, a common verb of doing and making, furnishes a good example illustrating this development of

meaning. The verb is the causative of *itaru* 'come up to,' 'arrive.'

41. *Achieve, acquire.* Gr. *ἀνύω*, Att. *ἀνύτω*, 'attain an object,' 'achieve,' 'accomplish.' Cf. Skt. *sanōti* 'procure by effort,' 'earn,' 'gain.' Thus *ἀνύω* is a perfective in meaning of the verbs of exertion.

OE. *ābycgan* 'buy,' 'acquire,' 'execute,' 'perform.'

42. *Bring to the top.* Lat. *consummō* 'complete,' 'finish,' 'consummate,' 'accomplish,' Eng. *consummate*. Cf. Lat. *summa* 'top,' 'summit.'

OB. *vrūšiti*, Bulg. *virša*, Slov. *vršiti*, *dovršiti*, Serv., Croat. *dovršiti*, Boh. *vršiti*, *dovršiti*, Slovak. *dovršit'*, Russ. *doveršit'*, *soveršit'*, *zaveršit'*, etc. 'finish,' 'accomplish,' 'execute.' For the original meaning, cf. OB. *vrūchūnū* 'top' (Miklosich, Etym. Wtb. d. slav. Spr.)

Arm. *katarel* 'come to an end,' 'complete,' 'accomplish.' Cf. *katar* 'top,' 'summit,' 'end.'

Cf. Fr. *achever*, Span. *acabar*, Ptg. *acabar* 'finish,' 'accomplish,' 'perform.' These came from Popular Latin *accapāre*, which came from Lat. *caput* 'head.'

43. *Make full.* Hindust. *pūrā karnā* Hin. *pūran karnā* 'accomplish.'

Arm. *lnul* 'fill,' 'complete,' 'accomplish,' 'do' (cf. Hübschmann, Arm. Stud. 32; Arm. Gram. 452).

Ir. *lunchomhlaim* 'perform,' 'finish,' 'accomplish.' Cf. *lanachd* 'fulness.'

Ir. *coimhlionaim*, Gael. *coimhlion* 'fulfil,' 'perform,' 'accomplish.'

Welsh *cyflawnu* 'complete,' 'fulfil.' Cf. *llawn* 'full,' 'complete.'

Gr. *ἐπιπλήγω* 'fill,' 'fulfil,' 'finish,' 'accomplish,' 'execute.'

Lat. *compleō*, *expleō*, Fr. *accomplir*, Ital. *compiere*, *compiere*, Span., Ptg. *complir*, *completar*, Eng. *complete*, *accomplish*.

Russ. *ispolnit'*, *vypolnit'*, Pol. *pełnić*, *dopełnić*, Boh. *plniti*, *doplňiti*, etc. 'complete,' 'fulfil,' 'perform,' 'accomplish.'

Goth. *usfullnan*, Swed. *fylla*, *uppfylla*, Dan. *opfyldte*, OHG. *arfullan*, MHG. *vüllen*, Germ. *erfüllen*, Dutch *vervullen*, OE. *fulgān*, Eng. *fulfil*, etc.

Swed. *fullborda*, Dan. *fuldbyrde* 'accomplish,' 'perform.'

Dan. *fuldbringe*, MHG. *volbringen*, Germ. *vollbringen*, EFris. *fulbrengen*, Dutch *volbrengen* 'perform,' 'accomplish,' 'execute.'

OHG. *follaziohan*, MHG. *volziohen*, Germ. *vollziehen* 'effect,' 'bring about,' 'perform.'

Dan. *fuldføre*, MHG. *volvüeren*, Germ. *vollführen*, Dutch *volvoeren* 'accomplish,' 'execute.'

Dan. *fuldkomme*, Swed. *fullkomna*, 'complete,' 'accomplish.' Cf. Germ. *vollkommen*.

MHG. *volrecken* 'accomplish,' 'perform.'

Germ. *vollstrecken* 'execute,' 'accomplish.'

Dutch *voltrecken* 'consummate,' 'fulfil,' 'execute.'

All verbs in this group are related to the IE. root **pelē*, **plē*.

44. *Adorn, embellish.* Hin., Hindust, *bannānā*, Guj. *banāvavūñ*, Panj. *banāuñiā*, etc. 'do,' 'make.' These are all connected with Skt. *vārnas* 'covering,' 'color,' whose denominative *varṇayati* means 'paint,' 'depict,' 'describe.' Thus Hindust. *bannā* means 'be painted,' 'adorned,' 'completed,' 'done,' 'made,' and Panj. *banda*, Guj. *banvuñ*, 'be done,' 'made.' The words given above are the causatives of these verbs. The line of development in meaning was 'be adorned,' 'embellished,' and so 'finished,' 'done:' of *vice versa* Eng. *finished* used in the artistic sense. Compare also Skt. *ālamkaroti* 'decorate,' 'ornament,' 'prepare,' 'make ready.'

Span. *adornar* 'beautify,' 'embellish,' 'accomplish.'

Span. *hermosear* 'adorn,' 'beautify,' 'accomplish.'

45. *Bring to an end.* Dan. *fuldende*, Swed. *fullända*, MHG. *volenden*, Germ. *vollenden* 'complete,' 'finish,' 'accomplish,' 'execute.'

Gr. *τελευτῶ*, *τελέω* 'bring to an end,' 'finish,' 'complete,' 'accomplish.'

Geal. *criochnaich* 'end,' 'finish,' 'complete,' 'accomplish,' 'execute.'

OB. *iskoničati*, Serv., Croat. *dokončavati*, Slov. *končati*, *dokonati*, etc., Boh. *konati*, etc., Slovak. *dokonat'*, Pol. *konać*, etc., UWend. *wukonjeć*, Russ. *končit'*, etc., Ruth. *dokinčyty*, etc. 'end,' 'finish,' 'accomplish.'

46. *Put work into effect.* Swed. *verkställa*, Germ. *bewerkstelligen* 'effect,' 'execute,' 'bring about,' 'perform.'

47. *Follow out the course presented.* OS. *lēstian*, OFris. *lesta*, MHG., Germ. *leisten*, OE. *lēstan* 'follow,' 'accomplish,' 'execute,' 'do.' Goth. *laistjan* means simply 'follow.' Cf. Goth. *aists* 'track,' ON. *leistr* 'foot,' OE. *læst* 'footprint,' etc. The line of development in meaning was 'follow,' 'follow a command or a plan laid out,' so 'execute,' 'accomplish.'

Lat. *exsequor*, Ital. *eseguire*, Span. *ejecuter*, Ptg. *executar*, Fr. *exécuter*, Egd. *exequir* Eng. *execute*.

Skt. *anutiṣṭhāti* 'follow,' 'execute,' 'accomplish,' Pkt. *anuciṭ-thai* 'accomplish,' 'do.'

48. *Discharge, get rid of, acquit one's self of.* Hindust. *bhugtānā* 'distribute,' 'divide,' 'dispose of,' 'get rid of,' 'finish,' 'execute,' 'do.' The word came from the IE. root **bheuǵ* 'distribute,' 'divide.'

Lat. *fungor* 'perform,' 'execute,' 'do' came from the same IE. root. Cf. also *dēfungor* 'acquit one's self of,' 'discharge,' 'perform.'

Lith. *atlikti* 'accomplish,' 'execute,' 'do.' The related words are Lith. *atliėkas* 'that which is left,' *atliėkas*, OB. *otulėkū* 'remainder,' Lith. *likti*, Gr. *λείπω*, Lat. *linguō*, Skt. *rinākti*, IE. **leiǵ** 'leave.' The meanings seem to have been developed in the order 'leave,' 'leave behind,' 'get rid of' and so 'accomplish,' 'execute,' 'do.' Cf. also the development of meaning of Lat. *absolvō* 'set free,' 'acquit,' 'finish,' 'complete' and Eng. *discharge*. For the use of the Lithuanian verb, cf. *Ir Noakas atliko tai wis*,

kq Põn's Diw's jam buwo liepēs "And Noah did according unto all that the Lord commanded him," Gen. 7; 5.

49. *Give, give away or over.* Lat. *reddō*, Fr. *rendre*, Ital. *rendere*, Egd. *render*, Eng. *render*. *Reddō* originally meant 'give back,' and then 'give away or over.' The forms in the Romance languages came from Popular Latin *rendō*, made after the analogy of *prendō*.

Gypsy *da-* 'give,' 'do' (Miklosich, *Mund. u. Wandl. d. Zig.* V, 16).

It is interesting to notice for a comparison that Hebr. נָתַן 'give' is very frequently used in the sense of 'make.' In the Old Testament this word is used at least over a hundred times for 'make.'

Compare also colloquial Japanese *yaru* 'give,' 'let go,' 'send away,' 'do,' 'make' (see II, 24, s. v. *schikken*).

50. *Carry away.* Skt. *vāhāyati*, *nirvāhāyati* (caus.), Sin. *nibāhanu*, Mar. *nirvāhane* 'carry away,' 'consume,' 'bring to an end,' 'execute,' 'accomplish.'

Skt. *vināyati* 'lead away,' 'consume,' 'finish,' 'accomplish,' 'do.'

51. *Yield.* Lat. *admittō* 'admit,' 'commit,' 'perpetrate.' The order of development in meaning seems to have been 'admit,' 'admit one's self to,' 'yield,' 'commit.'

Lat. *committō*, Fr. *commettre*, Ital. *commettere*, Span. *cometer*, Ptg. *cometter*, Eng. *commit*. The line of development in meaning seems to have been somewhat similar to *admittō*; that is, 'send completely,' 'entrust,' 'yield,' 'submit one's self' (especially to evil).

GENERAL REMARKS.

It is very probable that in the Indo-European period no such vague, general term as 'do' or 'make' had yet been developed,—at least none in which a more specific force was not still the predominant one. The Indo-European root **dhē*, which was the most fruitful source of words of doing and making, having furnished verbs of this meaning in three great branches of languages of this family, still had its original meaning 'set,' 'place' (cf. I, 1). The other roots, as we have seen, can also be traced back to various meanings other than 'do' or 'make.' The Indo-Iranian root *kr* and Welsh *peri*, Cornish *pery* are, to be sure, of very doubtful origin, although, in my opinion, their primary meaning was 'cut' (see I, 10). If they come from a full-fledged Indo-European verb of doing and making, we should certainly expect to find this more widely represented.

It is interesting to compare the uniformity and stability in some languages, with the variety and historical changes in others, as regards their common expressions of doing and making.

In the Indo-Iranian, the Celtic, and the Baltic languages, as well as in Armenian and Albanian, there has always been one verb for both doing and making in each language or each group of languages. The usage of such verbs has not suffered any considerable change in the historic periods.

In East and North Germanic the conditions seem to be similar to those in the languages mentioned above, except for the fact that in Old Norse, in my opinion, *téja*, which seems to have been the commonest verb of doing and making in an earlier period, has been crowded out by the new verb *görva* (cf. II, 21).

In Greek and Latin the tendency in regard to the use of various verbs of doing and making has been, after their classical periods, toward the simplification; that is, toward picking out one

special verb for the common use and dropping all other verbs of doing and making.

In Homer the most common expression for 'do' and 'make' was $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\omega$ or $\xi\rho\delta\omega$; and, when the emphasis was especially upon the activity with no reference to the result, $\delta\rho\delta\omega$ was the common word that was used. Soon, however, $\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, which had come to mean 'make' already in Homer, though still preserving at the same time its old meaning 'arrange,' 'arrange in order,' 'prepare,' began to be used more frequently; while $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega$, which was used in Homer in the sense of 'go through or across,' 'perform,' 'accomplish,' has become a common verb of doing; and as the result the old verbs $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\omega$ and $\xi\rho\delta\omega$ were partly crowded out. Such were the usages in the classical period. But $\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ gained ground more and more, until it became the most common verb of both doing and making, as we find it used in the New Testament Greek. Another change, however, soon became apparent. $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\omega$, which originally meant 'labor,' 'toil,' began to be used for 'do,' 'make' as early as the Byzantine period; and after the seventh century it was regularly so used, until in Modern Greek it has crowded out to a great extent other verbs of doing and making, —the latter being still preserved simply as remains of older periods or as the stereotyped forms in the written language (see Schmidt, *Synon. d. gr. Spr.* I, 397 ff.; Sophocles, s. v. $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\omega$; cf. also II, 15, s. v. $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\omega$).

In classical Latin, *agō* was the verb corresponding to Eng. *do*, and *faciō* to Eng. *make*. But *faciō* gained ground more and more to such an extent that it alone furnished the Romance verbs of both doing and making.

In West Germanic the tendency as to the use of the verbs of doing and making was just the opposite of that in Greek and Latin; that is, the multiplication of such verbs. In the old period there seems to have been only one verb for both doing and making. This verb was Germanic **dōno**, which was later partly crowded out by OE. *macian*, OHG. *machōn*, and their cognates in all the languages of this group. Cf. I, 7.

In the Slavic languages there are six words which developed

the common verbs of doing and making. These are represented by OB. *tvoriti*, *praviti*, *dělati*, *-činiti*, **robiti*, and **rediti*. The following table shows the most common verbs of doing and making in the Slavic languages:

	<i>do</i>	<i>make</i>
Old Bulgarian.....	<i>tvoriti</i>	<i>sotvoriti</i>
Bulgarian.....	{ <i>pravja</i> <i>struvam</i>	<i>napravjam</i>
Slovenian.....	{ <i>storiti</i> <i>dělati</i>	{ <i>narediti</i> <i>napraviti</i>
Servian	<i>činiti</i>	{ <i>načiniti</i> <i>učiniti</i>
Croatian	<i>činiti</i>	{ <i>načiniti</i> <i>učiniti</i>
Russian	<i>dělat'</i>	<i>sdělat'</i>
Ruthenian	{ <i>robyty</i> <i>zrobyty</i>	{ <i>zrobyty</i> <i>robyty</i>
Bohemian	{ <i>činiti</i> <i>dělati</i>	<i>učiniti</i> (literary) <i>udělati</i> (colloquial)
Slovakian.....	{ <i>robiť</i> <i>činiť</i>	<i>spraviť</i> <i>učiniť</i> (biblical)
Polish	{ <i>czynić</i> <i>robić</i>	<i>uczynić</i> (literary) <i>zrobić</i> (colloquial)
Upper Wendish.....	{ <i>czinić</i> <i>sczinić</i>	{ <i>czinić</i> <i>sczinić</i>

The statement which was made in the Introduction that the verb *do* refers more to an action *per se*, while *make* contains the notion of result, is manifest here; for the common verbs of making are in most cases the perfectives of the common verbs of doing in these languages.

On the whole, however, it is very difficult to apply to Slavic verbs the distinction of English *do* and *make*. The line of demarcation in Slavic depends upon whether a verb is imperfective or perfective. Thus, perfectives may be used for *do* or imperfectives for *make* according as the ideas are either perfective or imperfective from the stand-point in those languages.

One striking peculiarity which is noticeable in the table given above is that, in Bohemian and in Polish, there are two sets of different words for the most common expressions of doing and making, one for the literary and the other for the colloquial use. This is not the case with the verbs of this meaning in most of the Indo-European languages. But compare Japanese *nasu* (lit.) and *suru* (col.), Chinese *wei* 爲 (lit.) and *tso* 做 (col.), Arabic فَعَلَ (lit.) and عَمَلَ (col.)

Beside the words which were given in the table, there are a number of verbs which seem to be gaining ground as the common expressions of doing and making in several languages of this branch. These are Russ. *tvorít'*, Ruth. *čynyty*, Slov. *činiti*, Pol. *dziątać*, etc.

WORD-LISTS.

Sanskrit.
pary-āpāyati V, 40
prāpnōti V, 40
sam-āpnōti V, 40
kalpāyate I, 10
kr̥ṇōti, *karōti* I,
 1 ftn.; I, 10
ghatāyati II, 20
cāراتi II, 24
cēṣṭati II, 26
ā-tanōti V, 39
pra-tanōti V, 37
sam-tānāyati II, 19
anu-tīṣṭhati V, 47
dādhāti I, 1
vi-dādhāti I, 9
pra-nāyati V, 37
vi-nāyati V, 50
niṣ-pādāyati III, 33
sam-pādāyati III, 33
prati-pādyati V, 36
bhāvāyati III, 30
mīmāti I, 11
yojāyati II, 20
pra-yunākti II, 20
racāyati I, 2
rādhnōti, *rādhyati* I,
 4
vārtati II, 23
vartāyati III, 32
vāhāyati V, 50
nir-vāhāyati V, 50

vēṣati, *viveṣti* II, 21
ṣīlati II, 18
sādhati V, 38
sīdhyati V, 38
sēvati II, 19
 Pali.
karoti I, 10
kappeti I, 10
ā-carati II, 24
ajjhā-carati II, 24
adhittḥati II, 18
paṇeti V, 37
abhi-nīp-phadeti III,
 33
pa-yojeti II, 20
sādheti V, 38
paṭi-sevati II, 19
 Prakrit.
karat I, 10
ghadei II, 20
anu-ciṭṭhai V, 47
ceṭṭhai II, 26
saṁ-padei III, 33
nim-māyai I, 11
ā-yarai II, 24
raei I, 2
vaṭṭai II, 23
vihei I, 9
sāhei V, 38
sijjhai V, 38
sevai II, 19

Hindi.
karnā I, 10
pūran karnā V, 43
bannānā V, 44
rachnā I, 2
 Hindustani.
karnā I, 10
pūrā karnā V, 43
bannānā V, 44
bhugtānā V, 48
rachnā I, 2
sādhnā V, 38
harkat karnā II, 26
 Sindhi.
karanu I, 10
nibāhanu V, 50
sādhanu V, 38
 Marathi.
karāṇe I, 10
nirvāhaṇe V, 50
sādhane V, 38
saṁpādane III, 33
 Gujarati.
karvuñ I, 10
banāvavun V, 44
 Panjabi.
karnā I, 10
banāunā V, 44
rachnā I, 2

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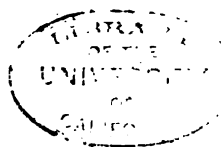
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